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Battle for the Future

—Robert Barrat

THE

Commonweal

THE ADVANCE OF AUTOMATION

by Michael Harrington

Erwin W. Geissman

R. T. Horchler

Joseph H. McMahon

John Cogley

John C. Cort

Philip T. Hartung

Richard Hayes

olume LXII, No. 7 May 20, 1955 Twenty Cents

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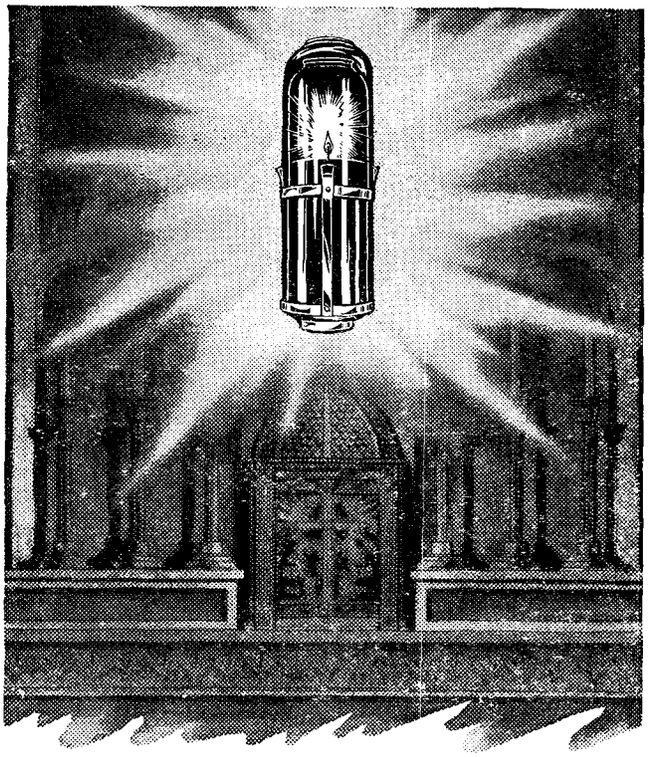

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THE COMMONWEAL
386 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16

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Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Orange, Conn., under the act of March 3, 1879. Published weekly, printed and copyrighted 1955, in the U. S. A. by the Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc., 386 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N. Y. MUrray Hill 3-9685.

U. S. and Canada, $7.50 a year. Foreign, $9.50. Single copies 20¢

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The Commonweal

week by week

THE CHALLENGE OF ABUNDANCE

DAY after day the evidence accumulates. Whether it be in terms of farm and factory production, corporation profits, or per-family national income, the world has never before beheld the abundance and nation-wide prosperity today enjoyed by the United States. Being statistical, this evidence fails to reveal the millions of Americans who are not sharing in this extraordinary degree of material well-being, but the proportion of those who are is one of the most remarkable aspects of this enviable situation.

According to the latest findings of the Twentieth Century Fund, this country produces nearly half the factory-made goods in the world; with six per cent of the world's population and seven per cent of the land, America produces and consumes a third of the world's goods. Department of Agriculture figures point to government stocks amounting to eight and a half billion dollars worth of unsold farm surpluses. Simply to store these excess commodities we have produced costs the nation's taxpayers a million dollars a day.

This over-all abundance comes at a time when the world of men has become, in effect, smaller and smaller. To learn of human needs in the most distant sector of the globe is a matter of minutes; aid in the form of medicines, for example, can be flown to a stricken area in a few hours. At the same time there is great unrest in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and virtually the whole world is caught up in the Communist struggle for world domination—a drive that skillfully capitalizes on past and present injustices and crying human needs. May it not well be that the United States with its abundance has, in the designs of Divine Providence, a special role set before it?

Totalitarian threat or no, are we not compelled in conscience to share our comparative abundance, which ultimately is truly God-given, with needy fellow-men? And the term abundance in this case means far more than the produce itself of our prolific farms and factories. It also encompasses the requisite technical proficiency, economic and organizational know-how and the intricacies of sound corporate and state finance. Beyond, and as a result of, all these there is the desire of peoples to produce, advance and build for the future. Americans have these abilities and more—in the way of organizing, producing and governing in the common interest—to impart to vast numbers of their fellow-men.

This is a basic conviction of the hundred Jewish, Catholic and Protestant religious leaders whose statement on "American Abundance and World Need" was made public on May 4. They declare that "The abundance which is ours and the potential productivity within our grasp are at once blessings to be enjoyed and a trust to be administered in the name of God and in the service of mankind. It is contrary to the will of God that islands of prosperity should persist amid oceans of poverty, hunger and distress." Providence does appear to have other designs for the United States, if we have the vision and courage to respond.

WHOLEHEARTED acceptance of this new role in the world will provide a great challenge for the American people. It will call upon the undivided attention of our best minds and an unrelenting national determination to thrust aside obstacles manned by various short-sighted domestic private interests and foreign foes. It demands a new and abiding concern on the part of Americans for the progress of other peoples. To bring this about, nothing would be more effective than a dramatic appeal to the nation by President Eisenhower.

The practical difficulties are legion. The Administration, for example, has for months been trying to dispose of a billion dollars worth of surplus farm products in needy foreign lands. To date but thirty-three million out of the proposed seven hundred million dollars' worth has actually been sold for foreign currencies. The problem of freight charges has greatly impeded the distribution of the amount of surpluses to be designated as

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gifts from the United States Government. Protocol and red tape have impeded the program all along the line. Without something like the direct intervention of the President the excess foodstuffs will never get to the needy.

Even if we embark wholeheartedly upon a program of imparting technological and organizational know-how on the scale currently needed in the world, the difficulties will be immense. Time and again the peoples most in need of the means of earning a real livelihood will manifest a diffidence compounded of malnutrition, disease, illiteracy, lethargy and suspicion. The biggest job will be to get such programs actually started.

If a catalogue of the practical difficulties would seem endless, that does not change the nature of the challenge. Moreover, Americans are particularly proficient in overcoming all sorts of practical difficulties. The means of achieving unparalleled abundance has been entrusted to us at a turning point in history. No doubt we could keep it largely in our own hands for a time, shoring up our comparatively lavish existence with high tariff walls, continued restrictive immigration and the latest weapons. We can, if we will, however, build toward a great and secure national future by taking up the challenge presented to our talents by the underproductive areas of the world. We have the tools to thrust endemic human want into the background and at the same time to deliver many peoples from the threat of a totalitarian fate.

NEXT WEEK

MARTIN TURNELL writes on "The Man and the Poet," for the special Paul Claudel issue:

"In the case of Claudel the problem of language is complicated by the personality of the man which pervades almost every line he wrote. There can be no doubt that he was the most formidable personality in the European literature of the first half of the twentieth century. It is from this fact that any attempt to assess his significance must start. 'I am not a *bel esprit,*' he once said in a letter to Jacques Rivière; 'I am a simple, serious man. As an artist, I despise virtuosi, and I do not understand practical jokers. The sneer, from Voltaire to Anatole France, has always seemed to me to be the sign of the damned. As soon as a man is possessed by the hatred of God, he is unable to prevent himself from laughing.' The simplicity, the solemnity and the intolerance of these sentences bring home to us the rugged power of the man which left its impress on his contemporaries."

THE CHURCH IN ARGENTINA

WHEN Christians suffer, other Christians mourn—or at least so one had thought. The Protestant weekly, *The Christian Century*, however, seems to waste little sympathy over the current plight of the Church under the Perón regime in Argentina. What is happening there, the magazine believes, is a power struggle "familiar to Latin countries in revolutionary ferment. On the one hand," it says, "there is Perón, Argentina's president-dictator, declaring himself the champion of the toiling masses and of national dignity. On the other is the hierarchy, trying to hang on to the privileges of establishment." This "internal tug of war," according to *The Christian Century*, "looks like one of those not infrequent situations where liberal opinion cannot foresee much to hope for from victory for either antagonist."

This plague-on-both-your-houses attitude, coming from a Christian source at a time when Christians are persecuted, calls for comment. What can have led *The Christian Century* to feel such indifference as it views Caesar attempting to annihilate the spiritual power in his State? Perhaps the magazine feels that the spiritual power was itself arrogant for too long; that the Church made common cause with Caesar while he suppressed all dissident elements in the State and that what now befalls it at Caesar's hand therefore has an element of poetic justice.

If such thoughts occur to the editors of *The Christian Century*, we cannot blame them. The record of many Catholics' past collaboration with the Perón regime is not an edifying one. As Monsignor Gustavo J. Franschesci wrote in a recent issue of *Criterio*, there was in the Church under Perón "too much reliance upon worldly means: upon support from the State, dependence upon wealth, worldly honors." In Argentina, as in other places, there was too great a tendency among too many Catholics to look with favor upon a regime which seemed to look with favor upon the Church, regardless of what that regime otherwise stood for.

But this is not the lesson to be read in the present story. What the Church-State struggle in Argentina illustrates was suggested in John A. Lukacs' article, "The Totalitarian Temptation," published in The Commonweal January 22, 1954. Because of a failure to understand the nature of totalitarianism, and because of certain advantages which totalitarianism may seem to offer, many Catholics, Mr. Lukacs wrote, "will support the new totalitarianism of some anti-Communist ideology. Some will even wind up among the leaders of this ideology. But if the totalitarians are going to be

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true to their own bent, there will come a point . . . when they, perhaps unwittingly, will have to conflict with the Church. Then those Catholics who wish to remain with them will have to be ex-Catholics."

This is what has happened in Argentina. Caesar is always jealous of the Church and when his pretensions are total his jealousy cannot be appeased. Whatever may have been the past blindness of many Catholics regarding the Perón regime is not the issue now, and for a magazine like *The Christian Century* to see in Argentina a mere clash of interests to whose outcome free men can be indifferent is an amazing confession of inability to see beyond the superficial aspects of history.

Catholics have made terrible compromises with tyranny throughout the centuries, and the pro-Perón record of many Catholics in Argentina does nothing to redeem this record. But, finally, the Church must always stand against tyranny, no matter how much some of her members, blindly seeking temporary advantage, may have played with it. The Church is the final, uncompromising enemy of any State which demands a total obedience of its citizens. The liberals may not know this, but the totalitarians do, and that is why, in Argentina, no mere "pattern familiar to Latin countries" (as *The Christian Century* has it) is being fought out. Here is no mere clash of interests but a struggle for the soul of man.

HOOVER COMMISSION ON FHA

NOW that its recommendations are more frankly in the policy area, the Hoover Commission can expect to receive more and more opposition. Latest to enter the lists was former Congressman Albert M. Cole, now the Administration's Housing Administrator. Mr. Cole was at one time considered highly conservative on questions like public housing; since then, however, personal contacts with the extent and gravity of the housing problem have apparently modified his views.

In any case, the Hoover Commission recently proposed that the FHA "be reorganized in such a manner that it will provide its own financing without having to call on the government for funds." To a good many people, this suggestion sounded suspiciously like the beginning of a new effort to get the government entirely out of the housing field, with all that this step would mean. Happily, Mr. Cole reacted quickly.

FHA, he said, "has always operated without on the government for funds," since it from premiums and fees paid for its ance. If the Hoover proposal means that that this system should be further perfected, "as I think it probably does," he would agree. "But," Mr. Cole said "if the proposal means that the FHA should be reconstituted as a separate, privately owned corporation . . . and that it should operate on its own corporate resources and under its own policies, subject only to distant Federal regulation, then I strongly disagree." We also disagree, and if the matter ever comes to a vote, we want to be counted with Mr. Cole.

ITALIAN MOVIE CODE

MR. William H. Mooring, whose movie column is syndicated in a number of Catholic papers, never seems happier than when somebody is censoring something. Particularly movies. Mr. Mooring is devoted to movie censorship.

Thus, Mr. Mooring is happy these days over news that the Italian government proposes to draw up a national movie code based on "Fatherland, Religion, and the Home," but he is incensed that some opposition to the idea has been expressed in Italy and in this country. The opposition, he feels sure, must come from "Commies." "The arguments against [the proposed Italian] code," he writes, "are identical to those used against Hollywood's own movie code by the friends of Russia and those who blindly or otherwise go along with them."

The Italian code has been drawn up by Under Secretary Scalfaro. "May God bless Scalfaro," Mr. Mooring writes. "May Ambassador Clare Booth Luce reassure him. Americans will buy Italian movies all the more eagerly when they are free of anti-Christian, anti-American diatribe."

Well, Mr. Mooring has always been quick to detect anti-American, anti-Christian diatribe in practically any film which questions the status quo (he detected it in "On the Waterfront") so he may attend more Italian movies if they are government censored. But there are other Americans (many we think) who are profoundly suspicious of any film industry regulated by an official government line, whether that line be "Fatherland, Religion, and the Home" or something less high-sounding. "Official" art is rarely good art. Ambassador Clare Booth Luce, please tell Under Secretary Scalfaro this too.

TWO STEPS

TWO significant and hopeful events have recently taken place in the field of labor. First of all, leaders of the AFL and CIO met and ap-

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proved a constitution that would give the governing body of the merged AFL-CIO a more effective restraining power over the conduct of its member unions. As matters previously stood, the CIO executive committee could suspend a member union on grounds of Communist domination; the AFL constitution permitted the suspension of a member union only by convention action, and this has always been a lengthy process and difficult to achieve. In future, under the recently adopted rule, the executive council of the new labor organization could suspend any union found to be dominated or "substantially influenced" by Communism or corruption. To accomplish this, a two-thirds vote in the council would be necessary, and this fact, plus the fact that any suspension could be appealed to the national convention, should guard against any danger of authoritarianism on the national level.

At the same time, both the AFL and the CIO have declared themselves in favor of legislation designed to regulate the operations of employee welfare funds, about which there have been so many scandals in recent months. The AFL and CIO proposals on the subject differ somewhat in their details, but in their main objective they are much the same, and the frank recognition by both labor organizations that abuses have developed in some welfare funds should help balance the bad publicity the unions received in this matter. On both scores—in the realistic plans for dealing with the problems of Communism and corruption, and in facing up to the need for legislative help in the operation of welfare funds—the unions are again demonstrating the growing maturity and responsibility of the American labor movement.

BREACHING THE WALL

THE indefatigable makers of newspaper abbreviations have produced a new one for the nations which met in Paris in the second week of May. Britain, France and the United States make up the Big Three; Germany was at Paris too and yet Russia is the fourth of the Big Four. At Paris, then, there was a meeting of the Big Three and a Half.

The "half" is too accurate for comfort. If the halves of Germany are reunited into a whole, then Germany will be a big power in the world once again. The meeting in Paris was concerned with the newest Russian efforts to handle this German problem.

In the years after the war we in the West became accustomed to Stalin's policy of making Eastern Europe a rigidly-garrisoned area cut off by electrified fences, minefields and searchlights. We really did not see this as the extraordinary thing it was, a recreation of China's great wall, a product of much the same kind of despotic xenophobia. Since Stalin's death, Soviet leaders have not, of course, done away with the great wall. But they have not let the wall be the symbol, or indeed the first principle, of their policies. When the wall *was* Soviet foreign policy, it was clear to the West that Germany could not be united on any terms other than totally Soviet terms. Since the great changes in Russia, the new and dangerous policies of the USSR have admitted the possibility of a unified, free, but neutralized Germany. The Russian terms have been considerably modified; it seems that genuinely free elections would be permitted in East Germany, and the wall would thus, for the first time, be breached.

But again the West has rightfully refused. West Germany has at last been given its freedom and Chancellor Adenauer's greatest accomplishment, the directing of German efforts into the channels of West European democratic cooperation, has been achieved. But the pressure for reunification bears hard on the Chancellor—and on the Big Three.

At Paris the foreign ministers discussed the price the Soviets would demand for German unification. The question is whether the USSR would accept a substitute for neutralization: perhaps a European security arrangement, or a general European system of arms reduction. Those are highly speculative ideas. Obviously no such arrangement could be entered into by the West which was not self-policing, automatic, watertight and generally guaranteed fool-proof. A letter published in this magazine two weeks ago from Major General E. Dorman O'Gowan indicated how speculative yet interesting such suggestions can be. A general arms reduction would require another lowering of the great wall. But we can no longer be certain that the Soviets will automatically reject the idea. We must be ready to deal with such a proposal.

And we ought not be too unimaginative in going into these forthcoming Big Four negotiations. *The Economist* suggests that as the Soviets have shown how badly they want a neutralized Germany, we ought be as tough as possible in setting *our* price. And our price, the magazine says, could well be really free elections in Poland and Czechoslovakia—as promised at Yalta.

The point is that the great wall still stretch
across Europe, but it no longer is the psycho
barrier to the Soviets that it once was. T
things much more complicated—ye
ful—than they once were.

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The Advance of Automation

"AUTOMATION OPENS UP THE POSSIBILITY OF A THIRD REVOLUTION IN TECHNOLOGY — AND IN SOCIETY"

MICHAEL HARRINGTON

A WORD out of the vocabulary of the brave new world has become the troubled focus of current discussion: the word is automation. Often enough, arguments about it are based on a fantastic image of overnight revolution in which the robot replaces the worker. But at the same time, the immediate reality does justify a very real concern—there *is* an automobile factory which produces engine-heads and cylinder-blocks without a single human being on the line, and last year the telephone industry terminated seventeen thousand jobs by the introduction of labor-saving devices.

In its broadest sense, the fact that automation describes is the control and regulation, by machines, of tool operations which were formerly performed by semi-skilled men. Its impact will most probably be uneven and sporadic, yet its total implication does provide the basis for a profound change in American life.

The prophets of this change have not been modest. On the one hand, there is this lyrical apostrophe from Sylvester L. Weaver, Jr., President of the National Broadcasting Company: ". . . we can foresee the American economy of tomorrow. It is a glorious picture with man the controller and master who can look upward and forward, while the physical and boring tasks are taken over by the machinery of cybernetics and automation."

And on the other side, there is Norbert Wiener's gloomy anaylsis in *The Human Use of Human Beings*. He defines automation as "slave labor." Therefore, "any labor which competes with slave labor must accept the economic conditions of slave labor." Wiener's American tomorrow offers a bleak perspective of a permanent army of the unemployed, of men who are crushed rather than raised up by the force of the new technology.

At this point, there is little use in arguing over the predictions of the future. There is, however, a real necessity for examining the clear trend of the tendencies which exist here and now, in the present. Two main points are raised by such an analysis. First of all, automation involves the possibility of a significant and qualitative change in the nature of work, and therefore in the nature of class stratification in America. Such a new sociology of work has major implications for many American institutions, above all for the political parties and the labor unions. The second point is broader. It concerns the political and economic problems which automation (or, for that matter, any technological change) poses in the United States. And this, I think, conjures up the image of the sorcerer's apprentice, of a society which must, by its very nature, expand and expand because it is threatened by abundance.

Mr. Harrington writes frequently on social and political matters for The Commonweal and other publications.

UNDER capitalism, there have been two revolutions in the nature of work. Both of them transformed society as well as production. Automation opens up the possibility of a third revolution in technology—and of a third revolution in society.

At the very beginning of the capitalist era, manufacture replaced the artisan. Large masses of workers were gathered under a single roof, or under the control of a single capitalist. This change was not based on a technological revolution, but rather on a revolution in the organization of labor. As a result, a dominantly agrarian society based on feudal relationships began to be transformed into an urban society characterized by the wage contract. Division of labor into minute parts took the place of craftsmanship.

However, under the system of manufacture, skilled workers still predominated. There was a new hierarchy, an influx of the unskilled, but the skilled prevailed. In England, for example, strict rules of apprenticeship continued right down to the industrial revolution itself. Yet this does not alter the profound social nature of the change which came about through manufacture.

The second capitalist revolution was technological: the machine entered history and became, in Henry Adams' famous image, pervasive and powerful, like a new religion. As a result, masses of unskilled and semi-skilled workers came into existence, cities grew,

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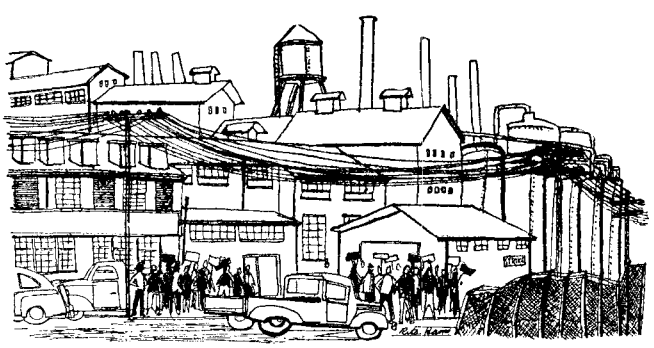
the very face of the land was altered. Marx described the social and psychological conditions of these workers by the term, alienation—alienation from the sense of workmanship because of the means of production and the division of labor, alienation from the value of their product because of the distribution of production.

This social-psychological characterization proved accurate down to the present. The un-Marxian sociologist W. Lloyd Warner found this same minute division of labor, this reduction of masses to the level of low skill, in his study of Yankee City. It was, Warner thought, in the very nature of such a process to generate industrial strife and the growth of unions. The sense of alienation will still be basic.

Now automation provides the basis for a third technological revolution within the capitalist system. As a result, the nature of work is once again changed, and the ramifications of this fact will appear in every area of society. Seen in a historical perspective, this does not simply confront us with an immediate problem of technological unemployment, nor even with the broader economic question of the relation between production and consumption: rather, it confronts us with the possibility of a significant *social* transformation of American society.

AT the very outset, we must remember the limitations of this process. There are, for example, industries which simply cannot be economically automated. And in those which can be, it is likely that automation will come as "a succession of ground swells that will reach different industries at different times and with quite different impacts" rather than as a "tidal wave" (so wrote George Baldwin and George R. Schultz of the MIT Industrial Relations Department). But even given these qualifications, the basis for change is of a tremendous significance.



Take, for instance, the change presaged by a Ford plant in Cleveland. It needs a total labor force of about five hundred men. Of these, about one hundred are cleaners and sweepers; fifty are carpenters and millwrights. The other three hundred and fifty men are lubrication and hydraulic specialists, electricians and electronic technicians, machinists and toolmakers. The level of skill is so high that Ford was forced to hire electricians and train them on the job.

The mere statement of the fact suggests, I think, the nature of the transformation: a basic change in the nature of work and in the stratification of the working class. Talcott Parsons has described one possible social consequence of this process: ". . . automatic machinery is eliminating whole ranges of so-called 'semi-skilled' occupations. It looks very much as though the traditional 'bottom' of the occupational pyramid is in the course of almost disappearing. If anything, this will tend to make our class structure even more predominantly 'middle-class' than it already is."

In another area of American life, the office, the change may well be in the opposite direction to Parsons' prediction. Norbert Wiener has pointed out that "the machine plays no favorites between overall labor and white collar labor." And in a *Reporter* article, Robert Bendiner writes, "Most automation men agree that the electronic displacement of humans will go farthest and fastest in the office. . . . The result, as scores of users of IBM and Remington Rand computers can already attest, is that these machines now make up the most complex payroll, perform the necessary accounting operations, and, with their own high-speed printers, run off the pay register and make out the checks."

Contrast the nature of the change in the office to that of the factory. In the factory, the tendency of automation is to increase the skill of the worker, possibly to make of him a semi-engineer. The effect of this could be a "middle-class psychology" as Talcott Parsons would have it. In the office, however, the transformation moves in the other direction: toward the proletarianizing of office work. For here the work becomes more like that of an assembly line, and the physical similarity between the task of the office girl and the executive, the fact that both use desks, pens, shuffle papers, do individual calculating, etc., tends to disappear. Psychologically, could this have the effect of dissipating the identification which so many office workers make with management?

But whatever the exact nature of the changes in factory and office, it is possible to make a broad projection of the *kind* of consequences which automation may have for society at large. The need for a highly skilled working force, for example, obviously involves the schools, in particular the technical curricula. And those churches which have placed a great emphasis on going to the industrial worker will have to reconsider their approach and accommodate it to a new situation.

The most obvious social impact, however, will be in the labor movement and in politics. Take but two

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of the problems which unions will face. The basis of industrial unionism is the great factory which concentrates a large mass of workers under similar conditions, thus allowing for a "vertical" organization of the entire plant into one union. The "horizontal" approach of craft unions rests largely on a stratum of skilled workers. But a change of the kind foreshadowed by the Ford plant plainly operates to change the nature of the working force in precisely those industries which have traditionally been bastions of industrial unionism, automobile, steel, heavy industry in general.

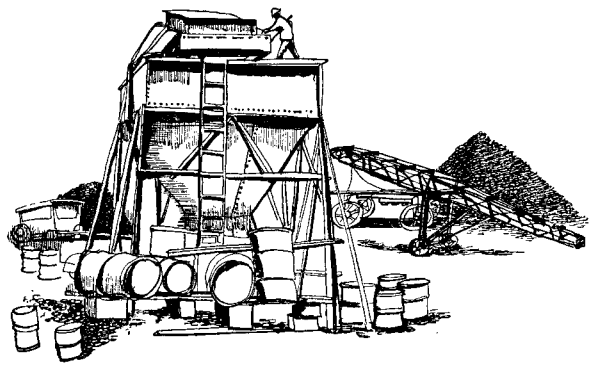
Again, there may well be a problem of two kinds of workers, sharper than the real and imagined differences between the AFL and CIO, in one labor federation. There could be, for example, a marked contrast between the attitudes of workers in automated industry and those in industries which cannot be automated. It is impossible to predict what the outcome of these changes will be. It is certainly possible to indicate that a considerable change is in the making.

In politics, it has long been realized that "status" considerations affect political behavior, that voting is not a simple determinant of class (economic position), but a complex resultant of class and status (the individual's conception of himself, his religion, his place in the community or ethnic group). Since automation is a social change, since it changes the "style of life" of the worker, it is almost inevitable that its effect will be felt by the political parties. This is, I think, more true in times of prosperity when status is more important, less true in times of economic crisis when class usually comes to the fore.

Clearly, the instances which I cite are vague as to exact outcome. Yet I think they make the main point: that any significant change in nature of work will be felt throughout America, in all of its institutions. Within its limitations, automation will eventually make such a change. The social consequences of this fact are considerable.

TOGETHER with these possible social changes, automation raises other more immediate and obvious problems. In its most imminent sense, automation involves technological unemployment, the replacement of human beings by machines. At its Economic and Collective Bargaining Conference in November, 1954, the UAW-CIO concluded that automation in the automobile industry will mean that ". . . one man will do at least the work now done by five men." Such a situation requires an immediate answer.

The demand for a Guaranteed Annual Wage may have an incidental effect of alleviating the situation since it increases benefits to the unemployed. Yet it is clear that the GAW does not strike at the heart of the problem (it was not intended to), since it addresses itself to the situation *after* the worker has been fired. Other and important factors must be considered, such as loss of seniority, loss of pension rights, etc. But above all, the main demand which the



labor movement will have to make is for a shorter work week at the same, or higher, wages as now paid. Only this kind of action, which spreads available work to greater numbers, can actually mitigate the firings. George Meany has spoken of this (so has Walter Reuther), but as a long range demand. Automation may well put it on tomorrow's agenda in those industries which are affected.

Yet this immediate problem, important as it is, is only the substratum of a more far-reaching problem: that of full employment and full production for the economy as a whole. Thus, *Fortune* writes in its January, 1955, issue: "At the rate American productivity is rising, about 1,500,000 fewer people will be needed next year to turn out this year's volume of goods and services." This is a continuing problem of the annual revolution of technology—and it is aggravated by the growth of automation. It means that to meet this problem alone 1,500,000 new jobs must be created next year.

In recent years, the slack has been taken up by an increase in the armament sector of the economy (from a low of slightly under 10% direct and indirect outlays in 1949, to a Korean war high of around 18%, to the present level of around 15%). Now that the government sector has stabilized, or is even decreasing, the problem can become active again. The increase in jobs must move into non-governmental peace-time production, or else serious dislocations may be felt.

The question is not that automation will produce "boom-time levels" *and* a "permanent reserve of unemployment," a possibility which *Life* foresees. For the permanent reserve of unemployment threatens the boom itself by reducing consumption. As the investment of capital per worker, and the productivity of the worker, increase, total wages must also increase so that consumption can pace production. As Henry

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Ford said in April, ". . . we know that when people stop working, they stop buying cars."

Ford is convinced that American industry can provide the new jobs. He, and many others, lay great stress on the American population increase as providing an expanding market. But again, this market can only be active if it has money. And automation, an aggravated form of the problem of technological change, offers the possibility of increased production with less wages, and less buying power. The present level of unemployment is already a million over the "normal" for a full-employment economy, and Ford's own industry may well have a cut-back in the fall.

All of this is not to suggest that automation will lead, in the immediate future, to a depression similar to the thirties. The 15% government sector (a massive intervention of the forties and fifties politically possible because of its "patriotic appeal" and production of non-competitive goods) almost precludes a deep crisis. However, automation could, in the immediate future, be one of the factors leading to a significant increase in unemployment, to a level of five or six millions. In such a case, the question of an increase in armament spending or of social spending will once more be on the political agenda.

NO one can tell the kind of future which automation will bring. At the present time, it is even difficult to generalize on how extensive automation will be. Yet, here and now, there are tendencies which give analyzable directions, and even the tentative conclusion points toward significant problems. We now have a qualitative change in the machine, making it possible to eliminate "all labor performing judgments of a low level," and the extension of this phenomenon seems likely to have major social consequences. It will certainly transform the conditions of existence in the factory, involving, as it does, a change in the nature of work. And economically, automation presents the persistent problem of technological increase in an aggravated form. By allowing for a drastic reduction in the labor force in each industry which it reaches, it demands the creation of new jobs and an increase in wages, as means to both full employment and full production. If the impact of automation is extensive, it may well raise again the twin problems of unemployment and government intervention.

America is today the most prosperous nation on earth (this is, in itself, a political problem). Yet its marvelous technology is not without its penalties. The system demands movement and expansion, over and over, if it is to work. The filling of the pails is endless; so must be their emptying. Automation reminds us again of this grave problem.

FROM ALGERIA

Battle For the Future

El Abiodh Sidi Cheikh

FRENCH North Africa is in crisis. One of three things will happen: reestablishment of bonds of friendship and solidarity with France; independence gained by force—as in Viet Nam; or the establishment of a repressive colonial regime which would include racial segregation of the South African kind.

For two years now the list of victims of terrorism and retaliation has been growing in Morocco; there are new victims every day. Business has come to a standstill. French colonials are selling their lands, and the financiers are withdrawing their capital. In Tunis things have been going a bit better since the opening of negotiations on internal autonomy. But if these negotiations should fail, the *fellaghas* will again take to the hills and resume the armed struggle.

In the face of all these symptoms of a worsening situation in North Africa, many Frenchmen are beginning to ask if the lamentable Indochinese affair is to be repeated. What precisely are the problems to be met? What feasible solutions are there in North Africa? These questions are considerably more deeply felt than was the case with Viet Nam. For there are very few Frenchmen who do not have acquaintances or interests in the three countries of the Maghreb, and everyone recognizes that the loss of North Africa would have the most disastrous effects on France.

In the eyes of the average Frenchman the problem is complicated by the fact that of all the countries that have belonged to the French Empire, North Africa is the area where French efforts were most meritorious and effective. Roads, schools, hospitals, dispensaries, the devotion of French doctors and administrators—the French schoolboy learns a litany of the benefits of the French presence in North Africa. It cannot be denied that the face of the three countries of the Maghreb has been transformed since colonization began. This explains why the French people tend to seek for reasons outside France for the present crisis. They blame the agitation of the Egyptian radio, Communist propaganda, underhand activity on the part of the Anglo-Saxons—and above all the supposed scandalous ingratitude of the Moslems themselves. Finding out whether there are not wrongs on the French side as well, and whether the political awakening and progress of the Moslem populations of North

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Africa do not entitle them to urgent and radical changes in the established system, are steps which very few Frenchmen have the intellectual courage to take.

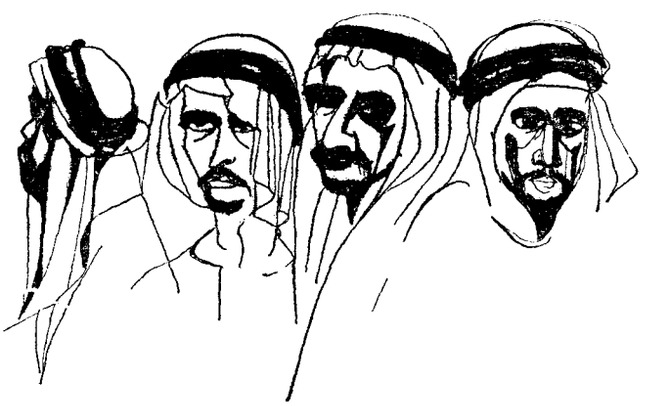
Nevertheless the Moslem of the Maghreb today has an increasingly anguished sense of suffering injustice. He does not deny the civilizing effect of French colonization. He merely remarks that these unquestionable technical achievements have primarily profited the European colony and only incidentally helped him.

In Tunisia, Algiers and Morocco, the most fertile lands have in one way or another passed into the hands of the French (by confiscation, expropriation, or purchase at an absurd price). The proportions are about the same in all three countries; in Algiers the average holding by a European is more than five hundred acres, while native holdings average thirty-two. Seven-tenths of the latter comprise an acre or less, not enough land to provide a livehood.

The increasing mechanization in the European farms makes the hand labor of the Moslems less and less important and results in a vast rural proletariat. With a population of nine and a half million native inhabitants there are no more than four hundred thousand steady rural or city jobs. The rest of the able-bodied population is condemned to unemployment; or rather, never have been employed. A recent report by Monsignor Mercier, Bishop of the Sahara, revealed tragic living conditions among hundreds of thousands of families living in the territories of the South. Their annual income is ten thousand francs (around thirty dollars) per person.

It is this misery of the North African *fellah* that impels him to leave the interior and seek out the lamentable hovel settlements on the coast in hopes of finding a job or some agency to take care of him. A person who has not beheld one of these wretched settlements with his own eyes can hardly conceive of these unbelievable conglomerations of huts made of preserve crates, tar paper, boughs, or dried earth.

The astounding thing is that up to now Communist propaganda has found little response among these abandoned masses—doubtless because their religion still serves as an obstacle to Marxism. But how long will that last? All the ingredients are present for a vast rising of the slaves in North Africa. What makes the problem still more acute for the years ahead is the increase in the Moslem birth rate. In North Africa three-fifths of the Moslems are under twenty and half of them under fourteen. In other words, half a million young workers arrive on the labor market every year.



With good will and devotion to the common good some help can be found in an agricultural plan which concerns four-fifths of the Moslems: agrarian reform, redistribution of land, irrigation and increased productivity. The Moslems are not seeking to attain the living standards of the American worker nor even those of the French peasant. What they want as soon as possible is enough food to keep body and soul together plus reason to believe that their children will enjoy a kinder fate.

But everything tends to deprive the rural North African of all hope. There is no indication that a social conscience has been awakened among the dominant elements of European colonization. Primarily in Morocco and Algeria a few big owners, producers of esparto grass, wines, oranges and phosphates, are bent on doing whatever they can to delay the achievement of some degree of social justice, of reforms or, say, a fairer tax schedule. These are the men about whom the North Africans are always talking, who through their control of the press and the administration actually govern the country. They will give ground only to a strong home government.

To the self-centered and obstinate conservatism of the big owners must be added the malthusianism of French capital, which has always held back the development of North African industry. If openings in agriculture are few, North African labor would be able to find jobs through a rapid industrialization of the country. But the Maghreb has always had a colonial economy; raw materials exported to metropolitan France and sent back in the form of finished products.

So far energy sources appear to be lacking and therefore it would be difficult to set up heavy industry. But the mineral resources of North Africa are only beginning to be explored. There is oil in the territories of the South and wells are beginning to be bored in the Sahara. Of course, oil alone will not save the North African economy. Refineries and other processing plants would be indispensable. Thus far French industry has always prevented establishment of such plants in North Africa.

THAT, then, is a rough outline of the economic and social problem. Sleeping Islam has been awakened by a brutal contact with the Western civilization brought by France. People under forty are impregnated with French culture and Western political

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ideas. They have been aroused the way generations of Frenchmen have by the proud motto of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.

Here again the French administration has not been able to perceive the intellectual development taking place among the Moslem youth of North Africa. Instead of associating itself with the progressive instincts of these young men who have returned from France with their diplomas, France has continued to lean on the old, feudal, and often corrupt, groups which ask only that their power be respected and their undeserved and outmoded privileges be reinforced. The young Moslem élite has become increasingly violent in its opposition. The more France has refused to grant minor reforms the more determined are their claims.

I believe that the worst can still be avoided if France has a strong central government ready to take risks. It is unthinkable at this late date that the peoples of North Africa will be content to remain pariahs or second-class citizens. Colonialism, whether we wish it or not, is doomed to disappear. The North African problem is both psychological and technical. On the one hand, the European minority has to recognize that the emancipation of the Moslems in every domain, including the political, is inevitable and therefore desirable. But once the right of independence and self-government for the Moslem majority is recognized, care must be taken that the exploiters of yesterday do not become the exploited of tomorrow.

The English were able to leave India without damage because they were only a handful. The European colony in North Africa, predominantly French, numbers more than two and a half millions. For this and many other reasons it does not seem possible that French presence in North Africa can simply disappear. There is no lack of juridical formulas which would assure the continuance of this presence and the safeguarding of the legitimate material interests of France. The root of the evil is psychological. A superiority complex compounded with racial hatred against the Moslems has unfortunately been developing for some years among the majority of the European population. Fear has intensified these feelings due to a number of acts of terrorism in the large cities. Fear evokes more fear, violence more violence. Rare in North Africa are those Frenchmen who strive to overcome such primitive feelings and to keep cool. Here and there a few Christians battle courageously to keep communications open between the two hostile communities. If, in the end, the worst is destined to happen, at least they will have contributed to saving the honor—badly compromised until now—of a Western Christianity confronting the Islam of North Africa. Obviously this would provide but meager consolation.

ROBERT BARRAT.

ANNUAL WAGE

Guaranteeing The Worker's Pay

I CAN'T remember when any union negotiations have aroused more interest than the current sessions between the United Auto Workers and the two giants of the auto industry, General Motors and Ford. Some weeks ago the UAW held its convention in Cleveland and, by a vote of better than thirty to one, voted to raise the dues from $2.50 to $7.50 a month until such time as the union's strike fund has reached $25 million. And all for the purpose of putting zing behind the UAW's demand for a guaranteed annual wage.

The spectacle of General Motors, perhaps the most formidable corporation in America, meeting head-on with the Auto Workers, perhaps the most formidable union in America, is a little like the business about the irresistible force and the immovable body. The odds favor a series of explosions, smashing and tearing noises, followed by atomic dust-clouds which clear slowly to reveal either a victor and a vanquished or general desolation.

On the other hand, everything may be worked out over the table and no picket sign raised in anger or tool laid down. Walter Reuther, who for sheer brainpower, energy and eloquence might be described as America's most formidable labor leader (*The Auto Workers' answer to automation/ Is Walter Reuther's articulation*) has said this:

"We are not irrevocably committed to our specific proposal. We are irrevocably committed to the principle that the workers in our industry are morally and economically entitled to a year-round wage."

The reference to morality is typical of the high-level tone of Reuther's statements, and I don't say this sarcastically. I believe the man is sincere, and like the rest of us, he is most sincere when morality happens to favor his own cause.

The morality of the question can be summarized by a few quotes from *Quadragesimo Anno,* the great social encyclical of Pius XI (1931):

The union side: "In the first place the worker must be paid a wage sufficient to support himself and his family."

The management side: "In determining the amount of the wage, the condition of a business and of the one carrying it on must also be taken into account; for it would be unjust to demand excessive wages

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which a business cannot stand without its ruin and consequent calamity to the workers."

The public side: "Let then both workers and employers strive with united strength and counsel to overcome the difficulties and obstacles, and let a wise provision on the part of public authority aid them in so salutary a work."

THE UAW doesn't like the name "Guaranteed Annual Wage" and insists on calling its plan a "Guaranteed Employment Plan." The former is more accurate. The plan guarantees wages, not employment, but I suppose the UAW uses the name because it has greater psychological firepower. Also, they say, it would force employers to guarantee *steadier* employment in order to avoid the penalty of paying wages to laid-off workers.

And that could be. The time-and-a-half penalty on working the help over forty hours a week resulted in some pretty ingenious changes in production to make this kind of work unnecessary. And plants like Hormel Meat, Procter & Gamble Soap, Nunn-Bush Shoes, where annual wage plans have been introduced, have found that there are many ways to smooth out the seasonal ups and downs once management really puts its brains to the problem.

The UAW plan is different from most previous GAW set-ups. What it does is this: it guarantees that all seniority workers (those with three months or more of service) would receive, in case of lay-off, one week's pay for every two weeks that they work beyond the three months probationary period. To a maximum of fifty-two weeks' lay-off pay.

For example: a man has thirty weeks' service beyond his three-months probation. Let's say he gets $80 a week, with $75.50 take-home pay. Unemployment compensation is $30 a week. The company makes up the difference for a period of fifteen weeks so that his take-home pay, or stay-home pay, is the same, $75.50. If the man is laid-off for only ten weeks, then he goes back to work with five weeks credit toward the next lay-off. Any man with two years and three months continuous service, or more, would have to his credit the maximum of fifty-two weeks' pay.

One of the first problems to be met, of course, is the disagreeable fact that some states have unemployment compensation laws that would prevent this kind of supplementary payment. These would have to be amended. Which would be "the wise provision on the part of public authority" that Pius XI mentioned.

Another part of the plan provides for a guarantee of forty hours of work or pay for every week in which a worker is called in. The two guarantees work independently. This one "is necessary to prevent employers from escaping from their obligations under the other guarantee by cutting back to a four-day or three-day week in order to avoid laying off workers for full weeks."

WOULD the plan bankrupt the companies, as management spokesmen have maintained? Seasonal lay-offs have been a major item in the auto industry for years, even in good times. In the weaker companies these have sometimes affected entire plants. In the summer of 1953 Nash shut down some of its plants for ten weeks. Early in 1954 Hudson was working an average of less than two full weeks per month. Studebaker has recently worked alternating four-day weeks. And now comes automation.

The UAW answers the bankruptcy charge by pointing out that its plan is "a limited liability" plan. That is, companies are obligated only to a specified percentage of their pay-roll. Beyond that payments would be made from a reserve fund until the fund is exhausted.

Writing in the New York *Times,* Joseph Loftus quoted one of the "General Motors and Ford economists" as estimating that the "cost would run anywhere from $1,500,000 to $234 million a year." Depending, I suppose, on the demand for cars. But Loftus would have been more helpful if he had stated whether this was a GM or a Ford economist. John Livingston, vice-president of the UAW and director of its General Motors department, told the convention delegates last month that GM had profits of $806 million *after* taxes for 1954. This is nigh onto a billion dollars and leaves a good deal of play for plans that cost a mere $234 million maximum.

UAW officials like to point out that Harlow H. Curtice, president of General Motors, has a guaranteed annual wage of better than $600,000. And that Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., chairman of the board, in addition to his salary has an annual take from GM stocks of over $1,500,000. These kinds of facts make powerful emotional arguments.

Neither Curtice nor Sloan, nor any other GM or Ford official, has come right out and said that they will not give the union a guaranteed annual wage plan. They have made almost no statements at all for public consumption. The conclusion seems reasonable that they have resigned themselves to some kind of concession on the principle. If there is a fight, it will probably be over how fast and how far the principle should be applied.

I think the UAW's strongest argument is the basic biological fact that the average man, woman or child has to eat three hundred and sixty-five days a year. Living, in short, is annual and, if it can be done without excessive pain, wages should be annual too.

JOHN C. CORT.

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BEHIND THE MANY FACES

THE term "McCarthyite" was always fairly meaningless. The word itself suggests a formal ism, a body of belief. But one is hard put to discover what the piebald followers and supporters of the Wisconsin Senator had in common. For some, Joe McCarthy was a knight in shining armor, a man sent by God to strike down the enemies of religion and of the Republic. For others, with few illusions about the man himself, he was a scourge—but a welcome scourge that swept down on liberals and New Dealers in both parties.

For still others, the intellectual wing of the movement, McCarthy served as a kind of crude spokesman for ideas and values which they felt transcended his clear personal limitations. "Sure, he's a slob," they told you. "He didn't go to the right schools. His manners are awful and at times he is downright embarrassing. But, by heaven, he has the right kind of enemies. I don't want to turn on his friends or line up his enemies. I have my reservations about the man but I'm going to keep them to myself. Whether you like his taste in neckties or not, McCarthy stands for the absolutes. He promises to reverse a trend that goes back to the Enlightenment. His methods may be rough but they may bring us back to sound traditional values. I'm for him, slob or no slob."

There were anti-Semites and "Christian nationalists" behind McCarthy. Plainly, they felt that he would be in sympathy with them openly if he were to express his true feelings. With the liberals, their arch-enemies, they shared a suspicion that McCarthy at heart was an anti-Semite. Maybe he is but he certainly never provided much evidence to back up the suspicion. It is true that he did not go out of his way to repudiate the support that came from anti-Semitic extremists (as early in his career he had accepted Communist support), but neither did he give them any encouragement.

The liberal anti-McCarthy movement, it seemed to me, often betrayed an ill-concealed desire to catch McCarthy in an anti-Semitic remark or attitude. Considering the closeness with which he was watched for this, I would say he came off very well. You might wonder why a group which detests anti-Semitism would want it to appear in a man as powerful as McCarthy. But remember the Hitler image of McCarthy that was so mightily cherished in certain liberal groups. As an anti-Semite, McCarthy would have been a much more convincing Hitler and, ergo, more vulnerable.

McCarthy is Irish and he is a Catholic. It was no great surprise then when, in Catholic-baiting liberal circles, he was charged with being a tool of the hierarchy. As such he would have satisfied the need for stereotype another way. But again, the man would simply not fit the mold.

A great number of Catholics fell over one another to come to his support, it is true. And certain ill-advised people gave the impression that McCarthyism was a fifth mark by which the true Church was to be recognized. But within the Church, from the beginning there was a powerful and highly articulate objection to this kind of identification. There were ample indications that the Catholic hierarchy itself did not all see eye to eye on the question of McCarthyism.

It must be admitted, too, that Senator McCarthy himself did not fully exploit the Catholic sentiment in his favor. There were a few Communion-breakfast sounding boards, of course. But in general McCarthy's appearances before Catholic groups were about par for the politico's course. If anything, he seemed to shy away from too-close identification with his own Church.

It appears that rather than representing any special interest, McCarthy gave expression to a great number of frustrations and disappointments for a wide variety of people. Whatever it was they felt lacking in themselves or however they felt that their particular beliefs were slighted in American life, they seemed to sense that McCarthy was fighting their battle; his successes were victories for them, his enemies were theirs too. Devotees of the Brooklyn *Tablet* and anti-Catholic followers of Gerald L. K. Smith found a point of agreement in Joe McCarthy. This is only one example of the strangers who hopped into his bed together.

The waning of McCarthy's fortunes will leave these disparate groups, temporarily, without a national, agreed-upon spokesman. But the dissatisfaction and frustration remain.

It was Eric Sevareid who said in the heat of the McCarthy controversy that the thing that kept the kettle boiling was psychological identification.

One group identified with McCarthy. The "intellectual" or "liberal" in the chair represented all the sarcastic teachers, arrogant Army officers or just plain snobs who through the years made one feel small. Now they were getting theirs. It was a pleasure to watch McCarthy make them squirm.

Another group identified with the harassed man in the chair. McCarthy in that case represented all the anti-intellectual, browbeating, Philistine-tempered bullies one met in a lifetime. Hating them, this group hated McCarthy too, with a bitter hatred.

Because of some strange catalytic element in his personality, the Senator from Wisconsin succeeded in releasing feelings that had long seethed under the surface of American life. The general reaction to him was amazingly chemical. I leave it to the psychologists to tell us why. It is enough to know that McCarthyism was not a purely political phenomenon. The frustrations that exploded under the force of his personality remain, glowing ominously until they are again stirred to heat.

JOHN COGLEY.

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THE STAGE

THE RED AND THE BLACK

"THIEVES' Carnival" is the first of Jean Anouilh's *pièces rosées,* the matrix, as it were, of his vision: a quintessential statement. Its structure is one of silvered artifice, the substance an ironic metaphor of life as theater, in which Harlequin pays the piper and calls the tune. An exquisite drypoint wit and an unfailing authority of aristocratic sensibility elevate the piece to its security of disciplined madness: we think, perhaps, of Auden's definition of art as game. For over these two worlds of grotesquerie—that of ludicrous larceny, and of no less ludicrous high fashion—Anouilh projects the pink lustre of phantasy, exempting them from the terms of human consequence and judgment. Yet the moral comment (never far in a French playwright, present even in his most extravagant fancies) lies perhaps in the juxtaposition of these worlds and that of the lovers, singing here—in their simplicity and illusion—the characteristic Anouilh song of innocence and experience, and over whom is shed most deeply and benignly that curious tinted lustre.

Ideally, "Thieves' Carnival" would aspire in performance to the formal perfection of ballet, or the detached elegance of one of the play's major images, a painting by Fragonard. Iridescence and grace of language would be sustained by a fantastic conceit of movement and gesture: the porcelain surface would crack to disclose the heart trembling in its delicate, blood-red exigency. The Proscenium Production (*at the Cherry Lane*) has a consistency of tone and rightness of intention that surmount the few blunted edges, the occasional gaucherie and *gaffe*. Perhaps the wit is too often pushed, the charm extinguished in attitudes: the ingenue particularly seemed to me breathless and suburban, not at all that perfect hothouse flower of French drama, the lyrically naive Anouilh heroine. Still, there are drolleries of an unexpected force and pleasure: Tom Bosley and William Le Massena most happily suggest the flavor. And the moment of human feeling which drops suddenly into the splendid artifice of the last act visibly rustles and dilates through the play, reminding us again how comedy may release springs forever sealed to the purely tragic.

MR. Roald Dahl's new farce, "The Honeys," might be called a genteel *pièce noire*: an extended anecdote of domestic homicide etched in a kind of wilful and sprightly malignity. Husbands and wives, do one another in, would appear to be its counsel, yet this superb vision of triumphant common sense never seemed to me to be supported by the play; almost consistently, Mr. Dahl fails the macabre possibilities it offers, and his small fictional authority adapts itself uneasily to theatrical conventions. A final wit is lacking, and tone: "The Honeys" rarely creates that anarchic world promised for it by Mr. Chas. Addams' comfortably morbid advertisement. Not two splendidly bizarre sets, nor the grotesque humors of Hume Cronyn, nor the comic subtleties of Jessica Tandy, Dorothy Stickney and Mary Finney can project it into that climate of the purely gratuitous where murder too, like gin and marriage, becomes an occasional pastime of the civilized. (*At the Longacre.*)

A NOTE

I HAVE space but to commend, urgently, the annual presentation of the King-Coit Children's Theatre—Andrew Lang's translation of the mediaeval 'chaunt fable,' "Aucassin and Nicolette." Nothing, I am certain, will live in my memory with more security and vivid charm than this exquisite poem to innocence, composed in grace and an infinite, humbling art, and drawing its purity of theatrical intention from an uncorrupted, incorruptible beauty of spirit. At another time, I should wish to consider the occasion again, in leisurely detail, but for the moment will note only that two performances—on May 16 and 18, the former a benefit for the Monastery of Mount Saviour—remain of this serious and absolute enchantment. (*At the King-Coit Children's Theatre, 330 East 56th Street.*)

RICHARD HAYES.

THE SCREEN

MAD DOGS AND ENGLISHMEN

IT would be easy for Noel Coward, if he's still in the satirical mood, to kid the three latest British film imports. Their characters talk and act very British British and keep the proverbial stiff upper lip in spite of all adversity—including the extra-marital affairs which present problems, although not the main problems, in all three pictures. One of the films, "Court Martial," has the added distinction (at least up to this writing) of having been denied a seal from the American Production Code Administrators who feel that the movie is too casual about an illicit romance. We don't actually see this scene, but it is talked about—as is most everything else in "Court Martial." The film is based on a play by Dorothy and Campbell Christie and employs a technique more suited to theater than cinema.

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The first part of "Court Martial" is rather dull, almost stuffy in fact, and doesn't win much sympathy for British army life or the major who is on trial (David Niven) or the pretty little WRAC captain (Noelle Middleton) who is so crazy about him. But things pick up considerably when the major's self-centered, neurotic wife (magnificently played by Margaret Leighton) comes on the scene. She becomes the center of interest in a big way and on her everything depends. Curiously enough, the major is guilty of the charges against him (misappropriating regimental funds, entertaining the WRAC in his bedroom, and being AWOL) but, as in "The Caine Mutiny," there are extenuating circumstances. Director Anthony Asquith builds up considerable suspense in the last part of the film and the military court procedure is fascinatingly portrayed. You may not be for the major, but you're certainly against his adversaries.

THERE are so many plots and characters crowded into "Front Page Story" that the picture's total effect is reminiscent of the man who leaped on his horse and rode off in all directions. Actually the film means to depict quite seriously what goes on in a London newspaper office; and on this particular day the main stories being covered concern the trial of a mercy-killer, the arrival of a rather screwball atomic scientist, and the eviction of a family of waifs. But the news editor (nicely played by Jack Hawkins) and his busy reporters have such complicated personal lives that they hardly have time to tend to the paper. Hawkins himself is particularly rushed, and his wife (Elizabeth Allen) who once had an affair with his assistant, is now threatening to leave him because he has no time to talk to her. Director Gordon Parry managed to get in some interesting cross-cutting as the camera jumps from one theme to another, but at times this technique is rather confusing; American audiences are likely to find themselves missing the point occasionally when the cast let the English dialogue and slang flow too fast. Perhaps "Front Page Story" was designed mainly for Anglophiles who aren't already fed-up on the Hollywood clichés about the behavior of journalists.

EVEN Anglophiles won't be too happy about "Land of Fury," a historical romance which takes untiring Jack Hawkins and plucky Glynis Johns to New Zealand in the 1820s. The English certainly view their colonization seriously; and on the whole Jack, Glynis and friends get along pretty well with the Maori, but Jack cannot resist an affair with the Maori chief's beautiful young wife. The chief (played by Inia Te Wiata) is probably the brightest person in the plot; he takes Jack's ill-behavior in good stride, but he cannot stop his own medicine man from leading an attack on the whites. As a movie, "Land of Fury" has its good and bad points. Its main attractions are the native dances and lovely Technicolor shots of New Zealand—but the English just will go out in the mid-day sun.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

COMMUNICATIONS

THE WORKER-PRIESTS

Paris

TO the Editors: The problem of the French worker-priests is extremely complex, even for a French person living in France. All the more so for someone like Gunnar Kumlien [March 11], who is not French and writes from Italy. . . .

It may well be that the situation can be appreciated only by someone who since childhood has been close to the French working class. . . . It is misleading to compare the French situation to the Belgian one where priests are paid by the State. Furthermore, there are less than ten worker-priests in Belgium and the union pattern is entirely different from the French one. Spain has still a smaller number of worker-priests, and relatively little is known about them. It was the very depth of the activity of the one hundred French worker-priests which made them conspicuous.

It is misleading to give the United States as an example of collaboration between employers and workers. . . . Conditions are entirely different here in France, and therefore the French worker cannot possibly wish to follow the American pattern. It is misleading to mention General Ridgway without explaining that the opposition and demonstration against him were not personal; that, at the time, for the French working people, he represented an Atlantic army in which the German army would be intergrated. It is misleading to speak of American aid to Europe without explaining why the French popular opinion of it is so low,—this quite apart from Communist propaganda. It is misleading to bring the Italian people and the Italian Communists into the picture of the French worker-priests. . . .

It is misleading to picture the French proletariat as a subproletariat, the kind Cesbron wrote about in *Saints in Hell*, a book which made indignant not only the French manual workers, but also some of us, intellectuals, who have the privilege of being accepted as friends by them. To imply that the worker-priests went among people "weak physically, too unintelligent, too passive, or often too lazy to organize into trade

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unions or to lift [themselves] out of [their] state" shows a downright gross ignorance of the French working class.

Most misleading of all is Mr. Kumlien's statement that in order "to gain these workers' confidence and compete with the Communists, there was no way left to the priests but to preach the Christian commandment of social justice." . . . He failed to grasp the utter inner consecration of the worker-priests, which put them wholly outside any winning, bargaining or competing. Such an underhanded, double-crossing attitude could never have brought to these men in their hour of trial the respect, love and admiration they received from so large a part of the nation, believers and unbelievers alike.

Finally, little is more distasteful than a non-exploited man's preaching resignation to an exploited one. . . . Suffice it to say that Mr. Kumlien seems to have forgotten the Christian injunction not to sin against Hope. That injunction is practiced by the French working people to an extent which puts all the rest of us to shame. . . . We cannot smugly dismiss the worker-priests' own book. . . . Accepting, as Catholics, Rome's decision, we must also at the same time resolve to remain uneasy, restless, and wounded in our hearts, because this book has revealed to us, much more than a French or a class problem: the depth of the problem of Faith in our present world.

CLAIRE HUCHET BISHOP.

CHRISTIAN CULTURE

Shrewsbury, Mass.

TO the Editors: Even though "theology and philosophy are considered the basic principles of unity for Catholic higher education," the kind of Christian culture study that Mr. Dawson has proposed [April 15] need not fear any serious opposition from the theologians. Once the compendium of theology is understood as being distinct from the deposit of Faith, no one can complain of the role assigned to it in the new synthesis. St. Thomas, unlike the manualists of our day, made no apology for treating theology as a bona fide science, as distinct from Faith as chemistry is from mathematics. The chemist uses arithmetic and the theologian uses revealed truths as his first principles, but he never draws dogmas for conclusions. If theology is accepted as a valid science which is as entirely dependent on human reason as is metaphysics, physics or sociology, then we are quite content to have it the crown, rather than the foundation, of the system. But, so understood, I do not see how theology can be other than "a professional and systematic study."

What the Council of Trent defined concerning inal Sin, for example, is no longer the subject of theology but the object of Faith and it is with such fundamentals that we must begin. How can our sociologists develop, from Western culture, the blueprint for a Christian society for modern man, until they have first heard, digested and accepted the Church's teaching on the first man and his progeny? Sociology like theology must begin with dogma. Our starting point must be an intelligent and consequential act of Faith in doctrines of the Creation, Fall and Redemption of man. And that is not at all the same thing as "religion" or "worship."

In this case "the fundamental 'classics' are not St. Thomas and St. Augustine" but neither are they "the Bible, the Missal, the Breviary and the Acta Sanctorum," though they will certainly hold an undisputed second place. For our fundamental classic however, we must begin now to compile a clear and comprehensive catechism.

(*Rev.*) BERNARD E. GILGUN.

"RIGHT-TO-WORK" LAWS

Pointe au Pic, Quebec

TO the Editors: Clearly what is at issue in the "right-to-work" business is whether an individual may be forced into association with a social organism performing acts by which he greatly benefits, even though that same organism does (or merely preaches) things of which he wants no part. Here is a radical problem in any society valuing the convictions of the individual. It cuts particularly deep into American history and the American character, with its real—if often sentimental—attachment to self-sufficiency, to a man's right to secede from the human race. One remembers that Mr. Thoreau and (unless my memory plays me false) others refused to pay taxes to the State itself under almost exactly similar circumstances.

Support of a church, a union, any sort of social group, even of the State, as a prerequisite to the normal functions of life is clearly in contradiction to the classic American eidolon, which calls for goose-pimples whenever there is any talk of enforced association, and this without the least regard for realities or a reasonable compromise therewith, but on "principle" alone. In the American instance, obligatory association has always been viewed as the great threat to personal liberties; and it can and has been a destroyer of such liberties. Yet historically such association can also act and has acted as a protection for those very liberties, if only because in union there is strength.

Quite incidentally, this latter fact of life has long been understood in Catholic societies, especially in view of the large part played therein by "corporations" of all sorts, be those corporations religious, academic, professional, craft or—in the smallest unit—matri-

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monial. So in speaking of opposition to the "right-to-work" bills, John Cort has little ground for the surprise he implies in his statement [April 22], "I cannot remember a social question on which there has been more unanimity among Catholic clergy who were willing to be quoted." It is as natural for a person brought up in a Catholic tradition at once to see the weight of union arguments in this department as it is for someone brought up in the tradition of American libertarianism to reach a roaring boil at such *un-American* tyranny as the union shop, maintenance of membership, or the check-off—let alone that abomination of desolation called the closed shop.

Once again reality challenges a deep emotional conviction—and a conviction which we must grant has served great ends in history. Nor does it help calm the resulting storm that well-heeled self-interest—with motives pure or impure—capitalizes on that conviction to gain its own ends. The tempest will blow itself out in time, but it is a tempest with its origins in persistent cultural currents, and hence a tempest likely to blow for quite a while longer. Such fine persuasiveness as John Cort's can help calm matters, but events and time alone can make people eventually put this tempest into the teapot where it belongs.

HARRY LORIN BINSSE.

"TRADE, AID, AND THE FARMER"

Minneota, Minn.

TO the Editors: A rural pastor feels hesitancy in venturing to disagree with the scholarly analysis of the farm dilemma, "Trade, Aid and the Farmer" by Father Schirber and Emerson Hynes [April 22]. But my quarrel is not so much with anything they said as with their underlying assumption. That assumption, I take it as obvious, is the validity of the norm of efficiency—maximum economic return for a minimum of effort expended. Such a yardstick may be perfectly valid in assessing the worth of industrial and commercial activities. But it has a very limited validity, and is in fact quite inadequate when applied to that ancient profession which provides man with not only food and fiber, but a multitude of religious, cultural, moral and sociological benefits which are incommensurable with the science of economics.

That is why I refuse to believe that any iron-clad law or some historical necessity has doomed the family-sized farm as we know it. I do believe however that it is doomed, but not for the reasons customarily given. Those reasons are usually clichés that obscure the fact of man's surrender to "the technological spirit" (as Pius XII calls it), and his unwillingness to grapple with the complex problem of how to make technological progress serve human instead of economic goals. In disregarding our Holy Father's repeated warnings of the dangers involved in making agriculture "a simple annex to the industrial world and the marketplace," we are liable to get a rather narrow view of farming as just another economic activity.

There are a good many farm families who deliberately accept a lower material standard of living for the sake of the religious and cultural advantages to their children in remaining on the land. Why should they be urged to get a vocational education to fit them for jobs in industry? Aren't the perils of joining the urban masses in our overcrowded cities too high a price to pay for a higher standard of living?

Even though most of these people may not have read the Pope's 1953 Christmas Message, or his June 1953 address to the Assembly of the International Federation of Farmers in Rome, or Msgr. (now Archbishop) Montini's letter of last September to the Canadian Semaine Sociale, their view of farming is astoundingly similar to that reflected in these documents. They believe people should stay on the land, and more should migrate to rural areas. If it is mere wishful thinking to expect a way can be found for more, not less, people to make a living on the land, someone should explain to us why the Holy Father, as well as the Canadian and Australian Hierarchies, are giving out such impractical advice. Is land reform and redistribution good only when exported, but not for domestic consumption?

(*Rev.*) VINCENT J. HOPE.

AN APPEAL

Father Francis W. Kennard, a missionary from the United States, writes of his flock in Huarochiri, Peru, high in the Andes Mountains. His territory is 130 miles by 75 miles and comprises more than 30 cities and pueblos, some of them at an altitude of 13,000 feet. The population numbers more than 40,000 Catholics and many of its parish churches have been without regular administration of the Sacraments for half a century.

"You cannot imagine the poverty and destitution of about ninety per cent of the people in this area. Because of the altitude, the produce on their farms is quite dwarfed, having the appearance of miniature vegetables. They make almost all their clothing from the wool of llamas, vicunya and sheep, but it is not enough. Pneumonia takes a heavy toll, especially among small children. I bury one or two in Huarochiri every day. In all this territory there is neither a doctor nor a nurse. . . . Drugs and antiseptics would help tremendously. . ."

Contributions may be sent to Father Kennard at Colegio Santa Maria, Apartado 2437, Lima, Peru (Airmail 10c).

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A New Look at the Pursuit of Truth

ACADEMIC FREEDOM: An Essay in Definition. By Russell Kirk. Regnery. $3.75.

By ERWIN W. GEISSMAN

ACADEMIC freedom, like all problems which involve the tensions of human relationships, is one which cannot be solved for all time nor exclusively on the merits of a philosophical basis. Society needs institutions in which the most important problems can be frankly discussed, free from the turmoil of the market place. That such freedom be realized is always a matter of prime necessity. But the form of that freedom and the precise way in which it operates will vary with the total context of the historic community.

In the light of these circumstances, it is right that the problem of academic freedom be discussed from different perspectives. Russell Kirk's essay is a stimulating new examination of the problem. This is one of those questions which cannot be discussed without prejudice, but at least Mr. Kirk's prejudice is one from which we have heard little during the past generation.

Mr. Kirk has acquired a sizable academic following with his recent books on the conservative tradition, and his current essay should considerably broaden the range of his admirers. His presentation is urbane and intelligent, sound rather than profound, exploratory rather than definitive. He is concerned with academic freedom as a fact in the history of the academy, not as a moral or statutory right. The liberties of the academy are "the product of custom and moral prescription, rather than of positive law." So be it, and may all right-thinking men deem them so.

Academicians must be bearers of the word. Their first obligation is to truth. Academic freedom is their freedom to seek the truth. Mr. Kirk's favorite enemies of this freedom are state coercion, statutory control, mass criteria, and the intellectual leveling of the professional educationist. The very selectivity here reflects Mr. Kirk's own political and educational prejudices. I mean nothing pejorative; I share most of Kirk's educational prejudices, but I do not mistake them for dogma. Education in a free society presents enormous practical problems and these are not going to be talked out of existence by a univocal extension of our political or philosophical views. But it is well that we recognize that the legitimate freedom of the academy can be limited from many different directions.

Mr. Kirk's particular prejudices lead him to emphasize dangers which are usually neglected, and this is all to the good. We should remember, though, that the problem in the concrete is one of human adaptability rather than of political or social commitment. Experience of the academy should teach Mr. Kirk that admirers of Edmund Burke can rank among the most arbitrary and small-minded members of the academic community.

Kirk deals at some length with individual instances of violations of academic freedom, notably, the Richardson case at the University of Nevada and Robert Hutchins' dismissal of W. T. Couch as director of the University of Chicago Press. These are excellent essays of their kind. They may direct our attention to certain practical considerations which are usually disregarded in discussions of academic freedom, and which are not extensively considered by Mr. Kirk. Academic freedom must not be confused with the human rights of teachers. Mr. Kirk avoids this confusion but it is not clear that he realizes that these subjects, though independent, cannot be entirely separated in discussion without practical confusion. The integrity of the academy cannot be maintained unless there are methods available for the removal of the incompetent, the idle, and the humanly perverse elements from the teaching profession. On the other hand we will never have true academic freedom while the bulk of our teachers are expected to bring up their families in conditions of genteel poverty which are made all the more insecure by professional obligations to maintain at least some pretense of gentility.

Mr. Kirk's illustrations are interesting in themselves but they tend to concentrate attention on the least important aspect of the problem. Instances in which the genuinely competent scholar is dismissed for unworthy reasons are few and will probably become even fewer at respectable academies. The best safeguard of freedom is that the school which hopes to be taken seriously in the larger academic community cannot afford to be unjust. Even with model behavior for the next generation, the University of Nevada will remain a laughing-stock in American academic circles. Every college teacher in the country knows that there are institutions which a reputable teacher will avoid at all costs. The academician's professional qualifications can only be judged by his peers in his discipline. The academy can only be properly evaluated by academicians. Individuals or institutions can ignore the judgment of their peers only at their peril.

The more serious problem is far more difficult to illustrate. Our teachers are expected to be of the finest intellectual endowment, scrupulously trained for their work and devoted to their vocation with a religious intensity. Under existing conditions the profession offers a true haven only for the hero or the lazy incompetent. Most teachers fall into neither category. They sincerely try to do their work while skating on the thinnest of economic ice. The consequence is that they are subject to a variety of pressures which will never have garish results or make headlines, but which in the aggregate are far more serious dangers to academic freedom. A sociological study along these

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lines would be helpful for a true understanding of the ways in which the academy executes its function of pursuing truth.

I would disagree with the way in which Kirk handles the problem of academic freedom and politics. The primary function of the academy is not pure research but education. The teacher should ideally be an example of the educated man—not merely an expert but a whole man. This involves engagement of varying kinds, and avoidance of engagement is frequently what makes the research specialist a hopeless dud as an educator. The range of the individual academician's interests and the amount of time and effort he expends on his duties as citizen cannot be determined by theoretical judgments on the totality of his professional engagement to the pursuit of truth.

The particular problem of the academician and politics at the present time is the outgrowth of the indiscriminate passion for internal security. We can all agree that the academician deserves no special exemption from the law or from the proper investigative functions of the legislature or the judiciary. But the academy can never acknowledge legislative competence to pass judgment on the needs of the academy or the usefulness of its members. We have had ample evidence in the past few years that such investigators frequently cannot even follow the language in which academic discussion takes place.

In fairness to Mr. Kirk it should be remembered that he does not pretend to an exhaustive examination of the subject of academic freedom. As a discerning essay from a particular point of view, his book should be a source of profitable discussion in the common rooms of our academies, even though there are some unfortunate instances of carelessness in documentation. In the notes to Chapter Two, for example, one footnote has disappeared; a numbered reference (16) has been repeated in the text with consequent disordering of the notes; Lynd's book has been silently retitled; on page 131 Mr. Kirk has confused two of Orwell's books. These are minor points but they may serve to remind us that the truth which is held out as an ideal to the academic community is not to be confused with anything so mundane as scholarly accuracy.

Man Against the Mob

SELF CONDEMNED. By Wyndham Lewis. Regnery. $4.

By R. T. HORCHLER

JOYCE once said that "no man can be a lover of the true or the good unless he abhors the multitude." Wyndham Lewis has many times demonstrated that he believes this, but in his new novel, apparently a kind of spiritual autobiography, he lays open the depths of exile and isolation which are the consequences of such belief. This is not to say that he has reached any rapprochement with the multitude; his strictures on the way of the world remain bitter and plentiful, but the blasts are muffled, set off with an air of weary defeat.

Self Condemned is the story of the decline and fall of René Harding, professor of history at a British university. Harding is an idealist and radical who finds that he can no longer serve an academic tradition, a civilization, even, which he despises. He resigns his post, turns his back on a brilliant career, and becomes a voluntary exile to Canada—Canada simply because one place is as good as another. His unfortunate wife goes with him as an uncomprehending, reluctant partner in the flight.

This is 1939, and World War II breaks out almost as their ship leaves Cherbourg. In wartime Canada, alone, friendless, cut off from their funds in England, the Hardings sink into a nightmare of poverty and barbarity. Only after three calamitous years do their fortunes start to mend. Then Harding makes his way out of the wreckage of his life and, in the end, resumes his once more promising career. But his success is an illusion, a final turn of the screw, because suffering has already destroyed him. He is a hollow man, almost mad, utterly broken within, as he goes through the motions of daily life.

This seems to be tragic, but it is not. Mr. Lewis is a satirist and propagandist, perhaps despite himself, and his novel suffers from ambiguity of intention and tone. Taken separately, the various purposes are largely fulfilled: the symbolic representation of exile in the frigid wastes of Canada is a poetic triumph; much of the satire is profitably sharp, although wit degenerates at times into idle jeering; the disquisitions on history, politics and philosophy, although often overlong and awkwardly maneuvered into the narrative, nevertheless command respect. But these elements—tragic, satiric and hortatory—are only mixed, not reconciled.

The story of René Harding and his melancholy end loses its significance, therefore, in a tangle of discordant points of view. Harding is sometimes merely a mouthpiece for the author's moralizing, sometimes a tragic hero, sometimes a snickering commentator on an array of farcical types, sometimes himself a preposterous *farceur*. His fate would be tragic and important if we could accept his own estimate of himself, but the author has perversely seen to it that we cannot. As martyr to the cause of truth, symbol of man against the mob, Harding is absurd—egotistical, foolish, self-deluded. Yet he is a suffering human being, and the stark horror of his finish moves far beyond the limits of irony.

In its final effect, then, *Self Condemned* is faltering and vague. And yet it contains much that is wise, witty and deeply affecting, is clearly the work of a formidable talent. Mr. Lewis' ideas, however much we may dislike them, are seriously challenging, not so easily dismissed. His satirical scalpel draws blood still, and his writing is sure, vivid, very often brilliant. If *Self Condemned* does not succeed, it fails ambitiously and intelligently.

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Who Thirst after Justice

WATERFRONT PRIEST. By Allen Raymond. Holt. $3.50.

JOHN C. CORT

"ON the Waterfront" was a great movie and my only regret is that it did not hit New York a few months earlier, when it might have defeated the mobsters in the crucial election of May 26, 1954. *Waterfront Priest* may not win any awards, but anyone who saw the movie and wants to know the truth that lay behind it must read this book.

Allen Raymond does a solid, competent job and Budd Schulberg supplies a warm introduction. In a way I am sorry that Schulberg did not write the whole book. It is a great subject and it calls for the work of a top-flight artist like the man who made greatness from it on the screen.

Even so, this is exciting and absorbing reading. Never before, between the covers of one volume, have we had all the basic facts about the New York longshoremen, up from 1902, when Joe Ryan got his first job on the docks, through World War I, when William J. ("Mr. Big") McCormack made his first killing on the handling of army meat, down to 1954, when Ryan went to jail but Mr. Big and the mobs still kept control.

All of it is in *Waterfront Priest*. Basically, of course, it is the story of the work of Father John Corridan, the courageous Jesuit who in 1946 enlisted himself for the duration in a war against organized murder and robbery in the longshore industry of the world's greatest port.

Father Corridan had a good vantage point as assistant to Father Philip Carey at the Xavier Labor School a few blocks from the West Side docks. He received a good deal of help from the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, and during the past few years, a great deal from the New York State Crime Commission and other agencies of New York, New Jersey and the Federal government. Nevertheless, the title of "Man Who Did Most" rightly belongs to the husky, balding, tough-talking Jesuit from Xavier.

And still he lost. He admits that frankly. In the showdown election of 1954 the corrupt old International Longshoremen's Association, expelled from the AFL and hounded by all the forces of law, order and respectability, kept its bargaining rights by less than three hundred votes out of a total just short of twenty thousand. A shift of less than one per cent of the men would have ended the reign of the mob.

Why did he lose and the mob win? This is the mystery of iniquity. "You want to know what's wrong with the waterfront?" Father Corridan asks at one point. "It's love of a lousy buck."

Actually, Father Corridan did not entirely lose. One thing he always wanted has been gained: gov-

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ernment, in the form of the Waterfront Commission of New York Harbor, has stepped into the picture and already accomplished a lot of good. It has outlawed the loading racket, thrown the worst criminals off the docks, and greatly modified if not destroyed the operation of the slave-market style of hiring known as "the shape-up." The old reign of terror will never be the same again.

And he has done something else. He has proven that total victory will only come when he, and others like him, have found on the docks more men "who will truly serve God . . . men who will stand up and resist evil . . . men who will risk their lives to fight against tyranny."

You get the feeling, as the book ends, that Father Corridan realizes too that such men are more often *developed* than they are found. They are developed by men like himself who understand what it means to be a Christian.

This development is not an easy job. It is an even more difficult job than the job that "the waterfront priest" has done on the level of natural justice and the natural law. But you finish the book with the conviction that if anyone can do that job, Father John Corridan can do it.

First Novel

A VILLA IN SUMMER. By Penelope Mortimer. Harcourt, Brace. $3.50.

By JOSEPH H. McMAHON

ECONOMY in expression, based as it is on the power of sharply etched scenes to evoke wider areas of association and deeper levels of meaning, is a valid albeit fundamentally difficult technique. In art it has been responsible for the creation of some stunning works, notably the paintings of Piero della Francesca and those who have rediscovered him in this century. In literature, its use has been as widespread, its success generally less distinguished. Despite skilful manipulation it is the strongest defect in Mrs. Mortimer's first book where suggestion by indirection is a shade too heavily relied upon.

A Villa in Summer in its incisive study of a marriage suddenly splitting at the seams does not avoid problems; on the contrary, it meets them quite squarely, investigates them in moments of bare, very human tension, and then, satisfied that a good piece of reportage has been done, shifts into another mood, a new direction. All this is done with a full measure of uncommon ability. Still, the book fails in its inability to convey sources of difficulties, to create, as it were, some sense of history, some indication that its characters have lived in a past that bears some responsibility for the present. Without this aspect of temporal depth Mrs. Mortimer's novel never quite rises above what it is: a highly readable presentation of people on the verge of uncomprehended crisis.

The reader, his attention concentrated on one major plot and several insufficiently delineated sub-

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plots, is left free for widespread conjecture on the final dramatic goal of the author. This might very well be the inevitable by-product of the New Criticism since it rather patently allows of further *needed* creation on the part of the reader. Its justification on aesthetic grounds is something else again: one never quite feels entirely fair to Mrs. Mortimer at the same time as one ambles rather too freely through her loosely framed novel.

If one restricts oneself merely to what is expressed, the conclusion is obvious: Mrs. Mortimer, like so many of our novelists, cannot cope with non-mechanistic responsibility; she can only evoke suggestions of it. Evidently this is not an intrinsic fault, especially since the book is its characters and not its author. Still, in its movement towards dénouement, it leaves too many unresolved incidents scattered in the reader's mind. Whether an author approves of his characters or not is really an unimportant consideration. In creating them, though, he should demonstrate a slightly more thoughtful concern for what happens to them.

Mrs. Mortimer writes well—with understanding and invention. Her dialogue is at all times well mastered, even if one is inclined to wonder periodically whether all British children speak so forthrightly as Miss Compton-Burnett has led us to think. *A Villa in Summer* is a very fine first novel. In the midst of the pretentious, forced creation of so much modern writing, it sounds an authentic, honest, somewhat flatted note.

A STRANGER IN SPAIN. By H. V. Morton. Dodd, Mead. $5.

HERE is a book that could not have been written by an American. It embraces too much history, too much of the local and more widely observed traditions of centuries. The most fascinating of the personages that people this unusual travel journal fought and loved in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. While Mr. Morton betrays scarcely an iota of interest in the recent savage civil war, he really warms up when he finds traces (or the tombs) of early Spanish kings and queens or of a *conquistador* like Hernan Cortés. Yet he writes of historical figures and his contemporaries alike with happy touches of humor.

H. V. Morton is widely known for several fine volumes on the Holy Land, among them *In the Steps of the Master*. He really outdoes himself in his contagious enthusiasm for Spain and various present-day Spanish peoples. He says towards the end: "Here the stranger thinks again for the hundredth time that the Spaniards were the greatest architects and builders since the Romans. There is not a building of any age in Salamanca that is not worth looking at." He concludes with a visit to an historic Benedictine Abbey, near Barcelona, which stands three thousand feet above the sea surrounded by mountain pinnacles. "They leave one beautifully alone at Montserrat. . . . I thought a lot about the dignity of Spain. It is a dignity founded upon a sense of mystery of life and on the belief that man is made in the image of God. What is precious and noble about Spain is that something has been saved from an earlier world."

E. S. S.

REVIEWERS

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